

Dear Dick:

Enclosed is a self-explanatory note which I am sending today to Bill Rogers and Mel Laird. I know that your associates in the Agency will be helpful to Messrs. Lincoln, Anderson and Murphy and will help preserve the private character of their visits.

Warm regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Honorable Richard M. Helms  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Langley, Virginia

NSS, DOS reviews  
completed.

HH:Saunders:tmt 12/5/69

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DEC 8 1989

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Dear Bill:

The President recently asked Messrs. Franklin Lincoln, George Anderson, and Robert Murphy to give him the benefit of their thoughts on the future U.S. role in the Mediterranean region. He has suggested that as they travel in that area--as they do from time to time--they might try to arrange useful discussions with contacts whose thoughts on this subject could be interesting. Although these gentlemen are members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, he has asked their views in their private capacities and not as members of the Board.

Each of them will be traveling individually on private business to selected countries in this general area over the next several months. Where possible, incident to their private business, they will take advantage of their presence to hold discussions with both governmental and non-governmental contacts, many of whom they will arrange to see through their own contacts. Their informal visits will be kept as inconspicuous as possible to avoid arousing speculation about some sort of Presidential mission. Efforts will be made to avoid publicity.

Prior to their trips, they will be briefed on broad U.S. policy concerns in the area. When their itineraries are determined, I shall let you know at that time so that "Eyes Only" messages can be sent to the U.S. Ambassadors in the countries to be visited in order that they may help make arrangements along the following lines:

1. Private discussions with the Ambassadors themselves.
2. Meetings with Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Defense Ministers, etc., if the access of the Ambassador permits making such arrangements without attendant publicity. (The Ambassador may say privately that the visitor is traveling on private business but is a personal associate of the President; that he will be seeing the President from time to time on his return; and that the

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Ambassador believes it might be helpful if informal conversations could be arranged. The Ambassador should emphasize that the visitor bears no messages; that he is not visiting in an official capacity; but that it might be profitable for him to hear the general views of the party concerned.)

3. Informal meetings with individuals outside the government whom the U. S. Ambassador regards as especially perceptive on international political matters and whom the Ambassador can bring together naturally and without fanfare (e. g., representatives from business, academic and related fields).

I wish to stress the informal and private nature of these visits. All the U. S. Ambassadors are being asked to arrange is a valuable supplement to an essentially private visit which might be helpful to the President in the months ahead and perhaps a little staff assistance if needed.

For my staff, this matter will be coordinated by Hal Saunders. He will be in touch with the department as the individual members of the group arrange their specific travel schedules and as they make requests for background briefings.

I am forwarding copies of this note to Mel Laird and to Dick Helms for their information.

Warm regards,

(Signed) Henry

Henry A. Kissinger

The Honorable William P. Rogers  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

cc: Secretary of Defense  
Director of Central Intelligence

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SECRET

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE (Henry Kissinger)

TO: EYES ONLY FOR THE  
CHIEF OF MISSION  
ITALY  
GREECE  
TURKEY  
CYPRUS  
MALTA  
SPAIN

1. Admiral George W. Anderson, USN (Retired), will be visiting Mediterranean countries during the period 12 December 1969 to 7 January 1970. He will be travelling in a private business capacity. Although a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, this is not the purpose of this trip. For your eyes only, the President has asked him to take advantage of his normal travels to discuss with personal contacts the general state of the U.S. position in the broad Mediterranean area, and he will see the President ~~from time to time~~ after he returns.

2. Before leaving Washington, Admiral Anderson will have been appropriately briefed and he holds all intelligence clearances. The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Moorer, will alert the Naval Attaches concerned of his schedule, with the request that, as a retired Chief of Naval Operations, they be of assistance to him. The Naval Attache will inform you of the specific dates of his arrival and departure.

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3. It would be appreciated if, in the most inconspicuous and informal way, you could arrange for suitable high-level contacts to the extent that this can be accomplished without raising questions or attracting publicity. You may say that the Admiral is travelling on private business but ~~is a personal associate of the President whom he~~ <sup>sees</sup> sees from time to time, and that you believe it would be helpful if you could arrange for a meeting for a general chat. He bears no messages and is not visiting in any official capacity, but there could be mutual profit by hearing the contacts' general views on the Mediterranean situation.

4. For your background, Admiral Anderson has served as Ambassador to Portugal, as Chief of Naval Operations, as Commander of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and on the staff at SHAPE. Hence, he would benefit most from conversations with military and civilians in or out of government whom you regard as especially perceptive in international political and strategic matters. He will also want to have a chance to hear your own personal views.

5. Again, I would like to stress the desirability of preserving the private nature of his visit and avoiding publicity. There is no justification for speculation about any sort of special mission and we want to avoid it.

6. Mrs. Anderson will accompany the Admiral only to Italy and Spain but requires no special attention.

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TERMS OF REFERENCE

General Questions

The odds are that the Arab-Israeli impasse will continue, though we shall continue diplomatic efforts to resolve it. If it does, the question the President must face is how the U. S. can minimize the damage to its interests in the broader Middle East through a prolonged period of Arab-Israeli hostility. The more specific questions that follow represent the various facets of this basic question:

1. What is the importance of the Middle East to the U. S. today?  
[The President's question was: Should we let the Mid-East go down the drain?]
2. How does Western European interest in the Mid-East differ from U. S. interest? To what extent would Western Europe carry Free World interests if the U. S. backed off from the Mid-East for a time?
3. To what extent must the Arab-Israeli impasse govern our relationship with the rest of the Middle East? If it continues, is it possible to isolate it and confine damage to the U. S. position to a limited area?
4. Another way of putting the last question is: Are U. S. interests in the Middle East such that they can be productively pursued by shifting our concentration within the broad area from Morocco to Iran without serious loss? Or would the setbacks to our position that would probably result from a prolonged Arab-Israeli impasse be so damaging as to affect our interests over the whole area?
5. What common denominators, if any, exist in the area from Iran to Morocco? Are new relationships or threats evolving within this area which make it useful to view it as a whole? Do these relationships offer opportunity for new U. S. initiatives?

These questions can be elaborated in relation to each of the major sub-regions that will be the subject of this investigation.

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MEMORANDUM FOR DR. KISSINGER

December 5, 1969

FROM: Harold H. Saunders

SUBJECT: Lincoln-Murphy-Anderson Trips to Mediterranean

Here is where the planning stands:

1. The only one with a set plan is Admiral Anderson. He leaves December 11 for Rome. He will also visit Naples, Athens, Izmir, Ankara, Nicosia, Malta, Madrid. He will travel under cover of a request from Admiral Moorer to report on naval attaches' relations with host countries.

2. The others have only tentative plans as follows:

Mr. Lincoln--Paris, Brussels; Lebanon, Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and perhaps one or two of the Persian Gulf shalkhdoms.

Mr. Murphy--Paris, Brussels, Rome; Lebanon, North Africa.

3. I set these gentlemen up today with briefings by appropriate Assistant Secretaries or Deputy Assistant Secretaries in State.

I need two minutes' guidance from you to get them on their ways:

1. They would like to have Secretary Rogers and Laird and Mr. Helms informed privately of what the President has asked them to do. In order to keep this in proportion, they have asked whether you would mind sending just a personal note informing them.

Recommendation: That you sign the letters at Tab A.

2. You earlier agreed to send "eyes only" messages to the ambassadors. With Admiral Anderson leaving December 11, we should get one out on him by December 8.

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Recommendation: That you approve the cable text at Tab B by Monday, December 8.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

3. You said you wanted to make some changes in the suggested terms of reference.

Recommendation: That you pen any changes at Tab C.

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HHSaunders:tmt 12/5/69